

SUBPOENA

BY AUTHORITY OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

To THE HONORABLE MARK T. ESPER, SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

You are hereby commanded to be and appear before the
House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence

of the House of Representatives of the United States at the place, date, and time specified below.

- ☒ to produce the things identified on the attached schedule touching matters of inquiry committed to said committee or subcommittee; and you are not to depart without leave of said committee or subcommittee.

Place of production: PERMANENT SELECT COMMITTEE ON INTELLIGENCE, HVC-304, U.S. CAPITOL

Date: OCTOBER 15, 2019

Time: 5:00 PM

- ☐ to testify at a deposition touching matters of inquiry committed to said committee or subcommittee; and you are not to depart without leave of said committee or subcommittee.

Place of testimony: _____

Date: _____

Time: _____

- ☐ to testify at a hearing touching matters of inquiry committed to said committee or subcommittee; and you are not to depart without leave of said committee or subcommittee.

Place of testimony: _____

Date: _____

Time: _____

To U.S. Marshals Service, or any authorized Member or congressional staff

_____ to serve and make return.

Witness my hand and the seal of the House of Representatives of the United States, at

the city of Washington, D.C. this 7th day of October, 2019.

Attest:

Robert F. Bawa, Deputy Clerk
Clerk

[Signature]
Chairman or Authorized Member

PROOF OF SERVICE

Subpoena for

THE HONORABLE MARK T. ESPER, SECRETARY OF DEFENSE

Address _____

before the Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence

*U.S. House of Representatives
116th Congress*

Served by (print name) MATHEW BITAR

Title GENERAL COUNSEL

Manner of service ELECTRONIC MAIL

Date OCTOBER 7, 2019

Signature of Server [Signature]

Address Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, HVC-304, U.S. Capitol

SCHEDULE

In accordance with the attached Definitions and Instructions, you, Mark T. Esper, in your capacity as Secretary of Defense, are hereby required to produce, for the time period from January 1, 2019, to the present, all documents and communications in your custody, possession or control referring or relating to:

1. President Trump's April 21, 2019, and July 25, 2019, telephone conversations with Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky, including but not limited to:
 - a. Any recordings, transcripts, notes (including electronic and hand-written notes), summaries, and draft versions of the official "Memorandum of Telephone Conversation";
 - b. All preparatory memoranda and materials including the full presidential call package and any addenda; and
 - c. The identity of all individuals who listened to, participated in, assisted in preparation for, transcribed, took notes during, reviewed the call record or transcript, or received information about the April 21, 2019, and July 25, 2019, telephone conversations;
2. Communications between or among current or former officials of the following entities relating to the July 25, 2019, telephone conversation:
 - a. The White House, including the White House Counsel's Office, the National Security Council (NSC), the Office of the Vice President (OVP), the Office of Management and Budget (OMB), or the White House Situation Room;
 - b. The Department of Justice (DOJ);
 - c. The Department of State (DOS);
 - d. The Department of Energy (DOE);
 - e. Agencies in the Intelligence Community (IC); and
 - f. The Department of Defense (DOD).
3. Any of the following meetings or potential meetings:
 - a. Any request, suggestion, or proposal for a telephone call, meeting, visit, or other communication involving President Trump and President Zelensky;

- b. A meeting at the White House on May 23, 2019, involving President Trump, Energy Secretary Rick Perry, former Ambassador Kurt Volker, and/or Ambassador Gordon Sondland;
 - c. President Zelensky's inauguration on May 20, 2019, in Kyiv, Ukraine, including but not limited to President Trump's decision not to attend and to send Energy Secretary Rick Perry to lead the U.S. delegation instead of Vice President Pence;
 - d. A meeting on or about July 10, 2019, at the White House between Ukrainian officials Andriy Yermak and Oleksander Danylyuk and U.S. government officials, including Energy Secretary Rick Perry, former National Security Advisor John Bolton, former Ambassador Kurt Volker, and Ambassador Gordon Sondland, including the proposed or actual participation of Vice President Mike Pence and/or President Trump in the meeting, and any notes or memoranda related to the meeting that were provided to you or your office;
 - e. A potential meeting between President Trump and President Zelensky in Warsaw, Poland on about September 1, 2019, including President Trump's decision to cancel his attendance;
 - f. Meetings and communications between U.S. officials, including but not limited to Vice President Mike Pence, Energy Secretary Rick Perry, and Senior Advisor Jared Kushner, and President Zelensky and other Ukrainian government officials in Warsaw, Poland on or about September 1, 2019;
 - g. Secretary Pompeo's September 17, 2019, call with the Ukrainian Foreign Minister Prystayko;
 - h. Vice President Pence's September 18, 2019, call with President Zelensky; and
 - i. A meeting between President Trump and President Zelensky during the United Nations General Assembly on or about September 25 2019, including but not limited to any discussion of their July 25, 2019, phone call, as well as any preparatory memoranda and materials generated for the meeting; any notes, readouts, summaries of the same; and any follow-up directives and guidance formally or informally issued to NSC staff, as well as relevant departments and agencies, either formally or informally;
4. Efforts by any current or former member of the Trump Administration or Rudolph ("Rudy") W. Giuliani, Igor Fruman, Lev Parnas, Semyon ("Sam") Kislin, Joseph DiGenova, Victoria Toensing, Vitaly Pruss, or any of their associates, to induce, compel, petition, press, solicit, request, or suggest that current or former Ukrainian government officials, politicians, or other persons or entities associated with or acting in any capacity as a representative, agent, or proxy for any such individuals, investigate matters related to Burisma Holdings Ltd., Paul Manafort, Hunter Biden, Joseph Biden, the Democratic National Committee, Hillary Clinton, and/or any U.S. persons or entities;

5. The actual or potential withholding, freezing, reviewing, delaying, deferring, directing, impounding, or releasing of foreign assistance of any kind, including security assistance, to Ukraine for fiscal year 2019, including communications among or between individuals in the White House, OMB, OVP, DOD, DOS , DOE, United States Agency for International Development (USAID), ODNI, or agencies in the IC;
6. The timing, content, and manner for communicating to Congress information regarding the status of foreign assistance of any kind, including security assistance, to Ukraine, including but not limited to written Congressional notifications of foreign assistance, briefings, or any communications referring or relating to information that should or should not be conveyed and any reasons for the decision;
7. Proposed or actual apportionments or re-apportionments, including footnotes, specifically withholding obligation of foreign assistance of any kind to Ukraine by DOD, DOS , DOE, USAID, ODNI or the IC, including funds appropriated for the Ukraine Security Assistance Initiative by section 9013 of the Department of Defense Appropriations Act, 2019 (Division A of Public Law 115-245), and for amounts available during fiscal year 2019 within the Foreign Military Financing Program account(s);
8. Deferrals or rescissions of any funding appropriated for foreign aid to Ukraine, including transmitting a “special message” to the House of Representatives, the Senate, and the Comptroller General as required by the Impoundment Control Act of 1974;
9. Opinions, advice, counsel, approvals, or concurrences provided by OMB, NSC, the White House, DOJ, DOD, or DOS on the legality of using apportionments to withhold or defer the obligation of congressionally appropriated funds to Ukraine;
10. The rate of obligations or expenditure for foreign assistance of any kind provided by DOD, DOS, DOE, USAID, or IC agencies to Ukraine, including the obligational status and agency capacity for timely execution under all proposed policy options of all such assistance;
11. Any delegation or revocation of apportionment authority involving OMB political or career officials;
12. Planned or actual interagency meetings related to foreign assistance of any kind, including security assistance, to Ukraine, including but not limited to documents sufficient to show the identities of all officials who attended interagency meetings on July 18, 2019, July 23, 2019, July 26, 2019, and July 31, 2019, among others;
13. The decision announced on or about September 11, 2019, to provide appropriated foreign aid to Ukraine for fiscal year 2019, including but not limited to any notes, memoranda, documentation or correspondence related to the decision; and

14. Meetings, calls, or other engagements with Ukrainian officials regarding potential or actual delays in the provision of funding or implementation of U.S. foreign assistance, including security assistance, to Ukraine.

RESPONDING TO COMMITTEE SUBPOENAS

In responding to the subpoena, please apply the instructions and definitions set forth below:

INSTRUCTIONS

1. In complying with this request, you should produce all responsive documents in unredacted form that are in your possession, custody, or control or otherwise available to you, regardless of whether the documents are possessed directly by you. To expedite our review, we request that you produce any responsive materials immediately upon being identified, rather than waiting to submit all documents at one time.
2. Documents responsive to the request should not be destroyed, modified, removed, transferred, or otherwise made inaccessible to the Committee.
3. In the event that any entity, organization, or individual named in the request has been, or is currently, known by any other name, the request should be read also to include such other names under that alternative identification.
4. Each document should be produced in a form that may be copied by standard copying machines.
5. When you produce documents, you should identify the paragraph(s) and/or clause(s) in the Committee's subpoena to which the document responds.
6. Documents produced pursuant to this request should be produced in the order in which they appear in your files and should not be rearranged. Any documents that are stapled, clipped, or otherwise fastened together should not be separated. Documents produced in response to this request should be produced together with copies of file labels, dividers, or identifying markers with which they were associated when this request was issued. Indicate the office or division and person from whose files each document was produced. Documents produced on paper (those from paper files that you choose to produce as such) shall not contain any permanent fasteners (i.e., staples), but shall be separated based on the divisions between documents as it is maintained in the custodian's files by non-permanent fasteners (e.g., paper clips, binder clips, rubber bands) or a non-white slip sheet.
7. Each folder and box should be numbered, and a description of the contents of each folder and box, including the paragraph(s) and/or clause(s) of the request to which the documents are responsive, should be provided in an accompanying index.
8. Responsive documents must be produced regardless of whether any other person or entity possesses non-identical or identical copies of the same document.
9. The Committee requests electronic documents in addition to paper productions. If any of the requested information is available in machine-readable or electronic form (such as on a computer server, hard drive, CD, DVD, back up tape, or removable computer media such as

thumb drives, flash drives, memory cards, and external hard drives), you should immediately consult with Committee staff to determine the appropriate format in which to produce the information. Documents produced in electronic format should be organized, identified, and indexed electronically in a manner comparable to the organizational structure called for in (6) and (7) above.

10. If any document responsive to this request was, but no longer is, in your possession, custody, or control, or has been placed into the possession, custody, or control of any third party and cannot be provided in response to this request, you should identify the document (stating its date, author, subject and recipients) and explain the circumstances under which the document ceased to be in your possession, custody, or control, or was placed in the possession, custody, or control of a third party.

11. If any document responsive to this request was, but no longer is, in your possession, custody or control, state:

- a. how the document was disposed of;
- b. the name, current address, and telephone number of the person who currently has possession, custody or control over the document;
- c. the date of disposition;
- d. the name, current address, and telephone number of each person who authorized said disposition or who had or has knowledge of said disposition.

12. If any document responsive to this request cannot be located, describe with particularity the efforts made to locate the document and the specific reason for its disappearance, destruction or unavailability.

13. If a date or other descriptive detail set forth in this request referring to a document, communication, meeting, or other event is inaccurate, but the actual date or other descriptive detail is known to you or is otherwise apparent from the context of the request, you should produce all documents which would be responsive as if the date or other descriptive detail were correct.

14. The request is continuing in nature and applies to any newly discovered document, regardless of the date of its creation. Any document not produced because it has not been located or discovered by the return date should be produced immediately upon location or discovery subsequent thereto.

15. All documents should be Bates-stamped sequentially and produced sequentially. In a cover letter to accompany your response, you should include a total page count for the entire production, including both hard copy and electronic documents.

16. You should consult with Committee majority staff regarding the method of delivery prior to sending any materials.

17. In the event that a responsive document is withheld on any basis, including a claim of privilege, you should provide a log containing the following information concerning every

such document: (i) the reason the document is not being produced; (ii) the type of document; (iii) the general subject matter; (iv) the date, author and addressee; (v) the relationship of the author and addressee to each other; and (vi) any other description necessary to identify the document and to explain the basis for not producing the document. If a claimed privilege applies to only a portion of any document, that portion only should be withheld and the remainder of the document should be produced. As used herein, "claim of privilege" includes, but is not limited to, any claim that a document either may or must be withheld from production pursuant to any statute, rule, or regulation.

- (a) Any objections or claims of privilege are waived if you fail to provide an explanation of why full compliance is not possible and a log identifying with specificity the ground(s) for withholding each withheld document prior to the request compliance date.
- (b) In complying with the request, be apprised that (unless otherwise determined by the Committee) the Committee does not recognize: any purported non-disclosure privileges associated with the common law including, but not limited to, the deliberative-process privilege, the attorney-client privilege, and attorney work product protections; any purported privileges or protections from disclosure under the Freedom of Information Act; or any purported contractual privileges, such as non-disclosure agreements.
- (c) Any assertion by a request recipient of any such non-constitutional legal bases for withholding documents or other materials, for refusing to answer any deposition question, or for refusing to provide hearing testimony, shall be of no legal force and effect and shall not provide a justification for such withholding or refusal, unless and only to the extent that the Committee (or the chair of the Committee, if authorized) has consented to recognize the assertion as valid.

18. If the request cannot be complied with in full, it should be complied with to the extent possible, which should include an explanation of why full compliance is not possible.

19. Upon completion of the document production, you must submit a written certification, signed by you or your counsel, stating that: (1) a diligent search has been completed of all documents in your possession, custody, or control which reasonably could contain responsive documents; (2) documents responsive to the request have not been destroyed, modified, removed, transferred, or otherwise made inaccessible to the Committee since the date of receiving the Committee's request or in anticipation of receiving the Committee's request; and (3) all documents identified during the search that are responsive have been produced to the Committee, identified in a log provided to the Committee, as described in (17) above, or identified as provided in (10), (11) or (12) above.

20. When representing a witness or entity before the Committee in response to a document request or request for transcribed interview, counsel for the witness or entity must promptly submit to the Committee a notice of appearance specifying the following: (a) counsel's name, firm or organization, and contact information; and (b) each client represented by the counsel

in connection with the proceeding. Submission of a notice of appearance constitutes acknowledgement that counsel is authorized to accept service of process by the Committee on behalf of such client(s), and that counsel is bound by and agrees to comply with all applicable House and Committee rules and regulations.

DEFINITIONS

1. The term “documents in your possession, custody or control” means (a) documents that are in your possession, custody, or control, whether held by you or your past or present agents, employees, or representatives acting on your behalf; (b) documents that you have a legal right to obtain, that you have a right to copy, or to which you have access; and (c) documents that have been placed in the possession, custody, or control of any third party.
2. The term “document” means any written, recorded, or graphic matter of any nature whatsoever, regardless of how recorded, and whether original or copy, including, but not limited to, the following: agreements; papers; memoranda; correspondence; reports; studies; reviews; analyses; graphs; diagrams; photographs; charts; tabulations; presentations; marketing materials; working papers; records; records of interviews; desk files; notes; letters; notices; confirmations; telegrams; faxes, telexes, receipts; appraisals; interoffice and intra office communications; electronic mail (e-mail) and attachments; electronic messages; text messages; contracts; cables; recordings, notations or logs of any type of conversation, telephone call, meeting or other communication; bulletins; printed matter; computer printouts; teletype; invoices; transcripts; audio or video recordings; statistical or informational accumulations; data processing cards or worksheets; computer stored and/or generated documents; computer databases; computer disks and formats; machine readable electronic files, data or records maintained on a computer; instant messages; diaries; questionnaires and responses; data sheets; summaries; minutes; bills; accounts; estimates; projections; comparisons; messages; correspondence; electronically stored information and similar or related materials. A document bearing any notation not a part of the original text is to be considered a separate document. A draft or non-identical copy is a separate document within the meaning of this term.
3. The term “entity” means a corporation, partnership, limited partnership, limited liability company, joint venture, business trust, or any other form or organization by which business or financial transactions are carried out.
4. The term “communication” means each manner or means of disclosure or exchange of information, regardless of means utilized, whether oral, electronic, by document or otherwise, and whether face to face, in meetings, by telephone, smartphone, mail, telex, facsimile, computer, encrypted app, in-person discussions, releases, delivery, or otherwise.
5. The terms “and” and “or” shall be construed broadly and either conjunctively or disjunctively to bring within the scope of this subpoena any information which might otherwise be construed to be outside its scope. The singular includes plural number, and vice versa. The masculine includes the feminine and neuter genders.

6. The terms “person” or “persons” mean natural persons, firms, partnerships, associations, limited liability corporations and companies, limited liability partnerships, corporations, subsidiaries, divisions, departments, joint ventures, proprietorships, syndicates, other legal, business or government entities, or any other organization or group of persons, and all subsidiaries, affiliates, divisions, departments, branches, and other units thereof.
7. The terms or “relating” “concerning” with respect to any given subject, mean anything that constitutes, contains, embodies, reflects, identifies, states, refers to, deals with, or is in any manner whatsoever pertinent to that subject.